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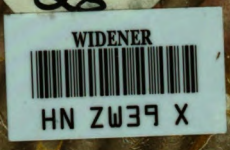

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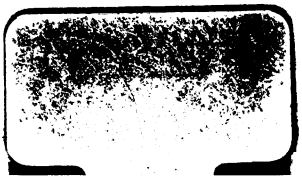

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The Author's kind regards
G. C.
Geo. Combe

NATIONAL FORCE.

ECONOMICAL DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY

FROM

INTERNAL TUMULT

AND

FOREIGN AGGRESSION.

BY

FREDERIC HILL,
INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

LONDON:
JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY.
1848.

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PREFACE.

THE outlines of the plan set forth in the following pages have long been before my mind (and have been glanced at in one of my Reports), in reference chiefly to a greater security from domestic tumult, and to the suppression and prevention of crime; a subject which has for many years occupied much of my attention, and in which, during the last twelve years, I have, as an Inspector of Prisons, been officially interested.

It appears to me that the plan proposed would be efficacious also in guarding us from foreign aggression, and would, at the same time, be free from most of those evils, the fear of which produces so loud a protest against an augmentation of the ordinary means of external defence.

I need scarcely state, that in offering the following suggestions for consideration, I appear wholly in a private capacity, and that I do not presume to claim for them any additional weight from the circumstance of my having the honour to hold an office under Government.

Belle Vue, Hampstead,
10th February, 1848.

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NATIONAL FORCE.

THE public mind is at present strongly turned towards the subject of national defence; an increasing fear being felt by a considerable portion of the community lest the peace of Europe should suddenly break up with an invasion of our country.

Without inquiring how far such fears are well grounded, few persons will dispute the necessity of having the country at all times in a state to afford complete protection to life and property from attack of any kind, whether internal or external.

There are, indeed, some who maintain that, as regards foreign aggressors, we ought tamely to submit, whatever be the wrong done to us; and that we should cling to peace on any terms. But even these do not seem prepared to carry out their theory of non-resistance to the extent of abolishing the police. Yet what difference in principle can there be in defending one's pocket and throat from a native robber or murderer, and in resisting an aggressor who speaks a foreign language?

If proof were wanting that abstaining from aggression ourselves is not sufficient to prevent aggression by others, we have only to recall to mind the war on the unoffending inhabitants of Mexico and Peru in past ages, the attack on Switzerland during the

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French revolutionary war, and the massacre of the peaceful and industrious Sciotes in the war between Turkey and Greece.

While, on the one hand, it is unjust and foolish to suppose that all nations but our own consist of marauders and cut-throats, it is, on the other hand, very erroneous to imagine every other people to be so moral as always to act from pure motives, or so enlightened as in all cases to take a correct view of their own interests.

While, however, the great body of rational men maintain the necessity of efficient protection from aggression of all kinds, and from all quarters, the opinion is rapidly spreading, that in the maintenance, whether of a police or of an army or navy, protection ought to be our *sole object*; that the power which they give ought to be directed against the bad portion of mankind only, never against the good; that to use the police to curb and hamper all classes, whether ill or well disposed, as in many parts of the Continent, is a gross abuse; and that to attack quiet and inoffensive countries is to act as a nation of bandits.

It is true that offensive warfare may sometimes be necessary, as in the attack on Algiers and other piratical states. But in these, as in all other cases, the single object in view should be protection, never aggrandizement; and no greater infringement should be made on the liberty and independence of the state which is attacked, than is necessary for the attainment of this object; in the same way that no more punishment and pain ought to be inflicted on an ordinary offender than is requisite for the prevention of crime.

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The great problem seems to be how to obtain efficient protection for life and property, whether from domestic or foreign foes,—1st, at a moderate cost to the community (lest a large portion of the very property to be defended be eaten up in the means of defence); and, 2ndly, so as not to create a power which may be turned into an engine of either domestic or foreign aggression, and directed against those very things which it was created to protect—our lives, our property, and our freedom.

In attempting to solve this problem, we stand on the vantage-ground of long experience. History points out to us various errors which have been committed, and the consequences of these errors; and we may now hope to obtain the desired good without any great alloy of evil.

Internal Security.

As regards internal security, it has been shown in our own country, that a body may be organized, which shall be of great service in the detection and prevention of crime, and which, nevertheless, shall not interfere with the personal freedom of the well-disposed—the great body of the people; much less carry on a system of espionage (thank Heaven, we have no English name for the practice!) degrading alike to the police and to the community.

While, however, much protection to life and property is now afforded in England, and more than at any previous period, it is notorious that in many parts of the country the protection is still insufficient, especially when there exist any unusual causes of disorder or tumult; such as severe want acting on an ignorant population; or attempts to coerce employers

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and fellow-workers by unions, in which objects are sought to be attained by means the cruelty of which is only exceeded by their folly.

Though happily the leaders in these unions are now gradually losing their power by the increased diffusion of intelligence and knowledge, I am convinced that the rules of these unions, and the measures taken to enforce them, still form the greatest tyranny in the country. Indeed, even the Irish outrages may be traced to the same principle on which so many trades-unions act—a determination to force upon others, even by the most violent means, their own views of what is just, or at least of what is conducive to their own interests.

In my Eleventh Report on the Prisons of Scotland, page xv., I give an account of a lamentable outrage directed against the life and property of a benevolent manufacturer at Dunfermline; an outrage in which more than a thousand persons were engaged, and against which the people employed in the establishment, though well affected towards their master, did not venture on any resistance.

If the masters, however, suffer by such tyranny, it presses with increased weight upon the more unprotected workpeople.

The following statement was lately made to me by an inmate of the county prison at Kirkdale near Liverpool; and the chaplain of the prison stated that, from his knowledge of the man, he should believe what he said :—

"I am a collier. I was born at St. Helens, and "have lived there most of my life. I have been "three times in prison, each time for stealing. I "was driven each time by want to steal. I have

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"sometimes been two or three days without any-
"thing to eat. I applied several times to the parish,
"but they would not do anything for me.* * *
"I could not get any work, because I did not belong
"to the union. The masters would have employed
"me, but the men would not let them. Every man
"when he first joins the union has to pay a guinea,
"and I had not the money. I was anxious to work,
"but I was not allowed. I had got out of the union
"in consequence of getting behind with my union
"money, and not being able to pay up. I had been
"ill for some time, and could not work or earn any
"money."

The chaplain of this prison added, that within the last two or three years two sawyers had been murdered in consequence of their continuing to work contrary to the orders of one of the unions.

The following statement was lately made to me by the Superintendent of Police at Sheffield, who said that he could occupy the whole day in reciting similar cases:—

Some of the unions, he stated, forbid those employed at their trade, whether in the unions or not, to work more than a certain number of days per week, and restrict them to a certain number of hours on those days. The following case he mentioned as illustrative of the evils arising from this tyrannical interference with the liberties of others:—

Some time ago, a Sheffield manufacturer received a large order from America, which he was required to complete by a certain time, the goods having to be despatched by a particular vessel. The last day of the term had arrived, and the work was nearly finished, when, at four o'clock (the day being Satur-

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day), the foreman came to the manufacturer and told him that the men were leaving their work, and that the goods would not be finished in time. The manufacturer directed that the men should be immediately assembled; and he told them, that if they went before the work was completed, he should lose several thousand pounds. He said, they knew that a few hours would be sufficient for all that remained to be done, and that he must insist upon their completing their task. He reminded them that he had always been considerate of their interests; and said it was monstrous, that in a case in which he had so large a stake, his own interest should be set at nought, and this, too, when he was willing to give them the full value of every stroke of work they performed. He added, that if they persisted in quitting the manufactory at that hour, and leaving the work unfinished, not one of them should ever return, be the consequence to himself what it might. The men replied that they knew he had always been a kind master to them, but that they were not allowed by the union to work after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon; they added, however, that if he would give them a little time to discuss the matter, they would think whether anything could be done. The manufacturer consented to this, and allowed them ten minutes to come to a determination. At the end of that time the men sent a deputation to him to say that they had resolved to go on with the work, provided he would undertake to protect them from attack; recommending that he should also take measures for protecting himself. The manufacturer replied that he would do his best; and he sent immediately for the Superin-

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endent of Police to consult with him. The Superntendent promised to give the protection required; and for that purpose, was obliged to station a policeofficer near the house of each of the workmen belonging to the manufactory; and these officers guarded the men to and from their work. This went on for some months; but at length, the workmen, being weary of such a state of danger and trammel, their employer consented to pay a large fine to the union as a penalty for their offence, on condition that they should no longer be exposed to persecution.

A manufacturer at Sheffield, having thought proper to employ some men who did not belong to a union, an attempt has been made, within the last few weeks, and since my visit to Sheffield, to blow up his warehouse by gunpowder.

Reference might be made to the formidable riots in 1842, to the great strikes at Glasgow and Preston, and to other outrages; but the present insecurity of property, and sometimes of life itself, against popular violence, in various parts of the country, is too notorious to require proof.

External Protection.

As regards our state of protection from foreign aggression, there is much difference of opinion; but all would probably agree, that if a provision for efficient protection against domestic enemies could at the same time, and at little or no additional expense, be made greatly to strengthen our position for resisting enemies from abroad, it would be an important advantage; especially if the plan held out the prospect of a gradual reduction of the standing army. For although most persons admit the necessity of a

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standing army, of some amount, in the present low state of general civilization, very many are now alive to the great evils, inseparably connected with its existence.

Not to enlarge upon the enormous cost of a large standing army, I may be allowed to say a few words upon a point to which I have directed some attention, namely, its

Injury to Public Morality.

Many circumstances tend to keep the army in a comparatively low moral condition, and thereby to act injuriously on public morals.

The early removal from parental influence—the recklessness frequently induced, by the feeling that, in a moment of anger or partial intoxication, an engagement has been entered into fatal to the person's happiness, and which it is impossible to shake off—the forced association with the rude, the violent, and the vicious—the idleness of the barrack-life, with its temptations to drinking and gambling, alternating with the mad excitement, great bodily fatigue, and exposure to cold, hunger, and sickness, attendant on most kinds of warfare—the thirst for plunder, excited by the opportunities for military licence, and the practice of giving prize-money—the improvidence arising from the irregular gains of a soldier, and the constant feeling of the great uncertainty of his life—the habits of licentiousness caused by the difficulties in entering into the marriage state—and the little regard for character generally felt by those who are for ever moving from place to place—these, and other causes must act with baneful effect on the moral character of the soldiers themselves, and through them on the people generally.

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At Chester, the extent of prostitution (attributed, in a great measure, to the circumstance of its being a station for troops) was lately described by the Superintendent of Police, as being "awful;" though bad as it is, it was stated, by the Governor of the city gaol, to have been still worse at the time of the war.

I was informed, that not only is much prostitution caused by the soldiers among the female part of the resident population, but that each new regiment brings with it a certain number of new prostitutes, who are left behind at Chester, and who are among the worst conducted.

How rapidly prostitution leads to stealing is well known to all who are familiar with the circumstances of crime.

Of 14 female prisoners in the city gaol at Chester, a short time ago, 13 were known to be prostitutes.

Captain Willis, the very able chief-constable of Manchester states that most of the serious thefts at Manchester, are committed by prostitutes and the men acting in concert with them, and called their "bullies."

Captain Willis states also that, since the practice of "barracking" the police at Manchester was discontinued, he has been able to get men of superior character to take the situation of policeman. He says that, on a late occasion, when a military friend was present while a body of the police were going through their exercise (the police at Manchester being regularly drilled), the gentleman was struck with the appearance and bearing of some of the men, and remarked to one of them that he would look very well with a sword by his side; suggesting to him to enter the army. The policeman, however,

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replied that nothing should induce him to do so ; that in his present situation he was sure of good wages while he did his duty properly ; and what he valued still more, he was able to live with his family.

The extent to which drunkenness, another highly prolific source of crime, prevails among soldiers is notorious. Some time ago, when a regiment was stationed in Edinburgh, which had lately returned from China, and among whom some prize-money had a short time before been distributed, there were 60 soldiers in the prison, all at one time, the whole of the offences having arisen from drunkenness.

A consideration of the cost and inconveniences attaching to a large standing army, and particularly of its danger to public liberty, have led many statesmen to prefer the employment of a militia raised by conscription; the men returning to the ordinary duties of civil life after a limited service. But this plan of guarding against the danger is open to great objections—so great, indeed, as perhaps to make it wise to run considerable risk, rather than subject the people to so grievous a burden. For what tax can be more oppressive than one by which, without regard to the bent of mind or disposition, constitutional bravery or timidity, to family ties, to the fears of wives, mothers or daughters, or to the necessity for a man's labour to support those who are dependent upon him, a person is seized by the state, and forced for a time to be a soldier ?

Even supposing the tax to be necessary, how unfair its operation! For a rich man can generally escape from it by providing a substitute, and that at a cost which scarcely deprives him of a single luxury ; while no such alternative is open to the poor

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ıan, by whatever privation he and his family might e prepared to submit to purchase it.

Again, how unwise in an economical point of iew must it be, to tear people from the employ-ıents to which they are trained, and to force them ɔ another, for which they may have no taste or fit-ess, and this too, at a period of life when they are ıost capable of adding to the national wealth, as ıroductive labourers. A man may be an excellent ıechanic, a first-rate weaver, or a most scientific ;ardener, yet quite useless as a soldier; nay, worse han useless, for fear and disaffection are contagious; nd thus, a single disqualified or dissatisfied indi-idual may become the source of panic or mutiny.

Even the despotic practice of the middle ages, ınder which masons, carpenters, and other mechanics, ɾere impressed into the service of the king, for a ime, and made to work at his castle or palace, was less hardship than this; for at least the men were mployed at their own trades, and not compelled at nce to give up their time, and to work at a kind of mployment which they disliked, or for which they ıad no aptitude.

Compulsory service, therefore, whether in the egular army, or in a militia, can have no recom-ıendation to an enlightened state on the ground of conomy. It is much better, as far as economy is oncerned, to let every one work at that kind of em-loyment which suits him best, and then to take part f the produce of his labour to assist in paying for ɔldiers.

But is it possible to devise a plan by which the dvantages attaching to conscription, or occasional nrolment of volunteers, can be obtained, without the

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accompanying evils? by which a body can be formed consisting of men prepared by nature for warlik encounter, and trained by art to military service ready to resist aggression of all kinds, whether d domestic or of foreign enemies, and yet with th interests and feelings of citizens and yeomen? of me with homes, families, and friends? of men who hav something dear to them to fight for, and which would be perilled alike by the anarchy of an ignorant mob the tyranny of a military despotism, or the successful invasion of a foreign foe?

For myself, I have a strong conviction that this i possible; and in the earnest hope that the followin plan will be found to combine the advantages I hav pointed out, I submit it for consideration; limiting my self to a mere outline, and leaving the necessary detail to those who have a practical knowledge of militar affairs, and of the management of an internal police.

Plan Proposed.

1. A body, say of 100,000 men, to be called the National Reserved Force, to be formed of me chosen from volunteers for the service, and residing under ordinary circumstances, at their own homes in different parts of the country.

2. This body to be regularly drilled in the mili tary exercises, and to hold themselves in readiness to act when called upon, either as a police force, to sup press internal tumults, or as an army, to defend the country from foreign attack.

3. The men to receive a small annual stipend, and in addition to be paid for their time when on duty; also to have a claim to an annuity in old age, say from the age of 60; but this latter claim to be lost

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the party do not remain in the Force at least
years, or if he leave it without giving proper
tice.* This latter arrangement would tend to keep
t of the Force the needy and improvident, and
rsons with bad constitutions.

4. No one to be admitted into the Force who is
low a certain stature, above or below a certain age
ay above 30 or under 20), or who has not a good
ysical development, and robust health.

5. In the selection of the men, great regard to be
d to the moral character of the applicant, and to
s being strictly sober; and, other things equal, a
eference to be given to those who possess some
nount of property. Indeed, it is so important that
e members of the Force should in general be
rners either of a house, a piece of land, a stock of
rniture, money in a bank, shares in a public com-
ny, or some other kind of property, so that they
ay have a strong interest in the preservation of
der—that if the proposed remuneration (together
ith the other inducements which are likely to exist)
not found sufficient to cause persons of this class to
ter the Force, it would be advisable to increase it.

6. No one to be admitted into the Force till he has
ssed a certain probation, say of three months, and
arnt the military exercises.†

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* In the army it is the practice to grant pensions at an earlier
e than sixty; but it must be remembered, that under present
rangements a soldier seldom knows any other occupation, and is
erefore dependent at an earlier period of life on extrinsic aid than
nember of the Reserved Force would be.

† It is known that a recruit of average intelligence can be
ined for service in a few weeks, attending drill about five
urs per day. Considering the superior intelligence which would
obably distinguish the members of the National Force, as com-
red with ordinary recruits, and the greater zeal and spirit with
ich a man works when engaged at that which he undertakes with
own free will and deliberate choice, even less time would, in

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7. No one to be paid for his time in qualifyi himself for admission into the National Force. Th will tend to keep away persons who have no inte tion of remaining in the Force, and to prevent th fraud of first entering one division of the Force, a then withdrawing and trying to enter another, with view of obtaining double payment for time expend in learning the military exercises.

8. The National Force to meet at stated times, such parties as can readily be assembled in the sam neighbourhood, for parade and drill, and also stated times in large bodies, for review.

These stated meetings for parade and drill shoul like those for first instruction in the military exe cises, be so regulated as not to prevent those attendi them from following their ordinary avocations duri at least the greater part of the same day. This is i portant, as an interruption to a man's daily work n only subjects him to loss but exposes him to t danger of forming habits of idleness and drinking.

9. Every member of the National Force, wheth officer or private, to reside within a certain appoint distance of his place of muster; always to leave info mation where he is to be found, and not to go out his district without leave of absence. Facilities, ho ever, to be afforded for exchanging from one divisi of the Force to another, in order not to preve any member of the force from removing to a ne place of abode when the interests of his trade other occupation require such a change.

10. The National Force to wear a uniform suita

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their case, probably suffice. It would be very desirable, however, to regulate the daily time of drill as not to prevent a man, wh attending it, from pursuing his ordinary occupations. The wh period of preparation, therefore, might be as long as that mentio or even longer.

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r the double purpose of police-officer and soldier, d to be furnished with the arms, &c., required in her capacity.

11. The National Force, like the army, to be under e general direction of a department of Govern- ent. At the same time, it might be well to con- ler whether, in order to secure a strong feeling of sponsibility throughout the whole body, it would t be advisable that the superior officers alone should appointed by the Crown; these officers having the pointment of the officers of lower rank, and the ptains having the selection of the inferior officers d privates.

12. When called out to suppress internal riots, and t to act against foreign troops, the National Force, e the army, to be under the immediate direction the civil authorities.

Rough Estimate of Annual Cost.	£.
arly pay of 5*l.* each to 100,000 men .	*500,000
y for attendance at parades, drill, and reviews,† pay of officers, cost of clothing,‡ arms and ammunition, and miscellaneous expenses, say . . .	400,000
Total . .	£900,000

It might be found expedient to vary the rate of pay, to some nt, according to the scale of wages in different parts of the ntry; but what are here given are the estimated average pay- ts.

Payments to be made for attendance at these times, at the rate, of 6*d.* per hour, or 3*s.* per day, with 1½*d.* per mile to and from place of review from the centre of a man's ordinary district, n he is required to leave his district to attend a review.

As the hours and days when the clothing was used would not, he whole, amount, probably, to more than eight or ten days in year, the clothing would last a long time.

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At the end of a period of not less than 30 yea this sum would be increased by the payment deferred annuities, say of 10*l.* per annum, to ever man who had been in the force 20 years, and ha reached the age of 60. After a sufficient time ha elapsed for these payments to reach an avera amount, they would probably be about 300,000 per annum.*

The foregoing estimate is exclusive of the addition pay to the Force when on service, say at the rate 5*s.* per day each private, and the officers in the sam proportion (according to their respective annual pa for periods not exceeding three days, and at the ra of 4*s.* per day for any additional time; the me finding their own rations or paying for them.

It is proposed that when the Force acts as a polic the above expense should fall on the county or bo rough where the services of the Force are required but when it acts as an army of defence from foreig attack, that the cost should be paid by the State.†

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* It would be expedient, within certain limits, to allow a member of the Force to increase his annuity by giving up part his annual pay of 5*l.*, at the rate of about 8*l.* of increased annu for every pound of annual pay. Thus by giving up 2*l.* of his ann pay, a man might add about 16*l.* to his annuity, and so secure annuity for old age of about 26*l.*

† At present, owing to the neglect or unwillingness of so counties and boroughs to provide anything like an adequate pol force, there is a frequent necessity in such places to call for milit aid. This practice, besides entailing other evils, leads to mu injustice, inasmuch as, instead of a small expense being defra by the parties immediately concerned, a great expense is thro upon the people generally. The want, for example, of a pro police in Lanarkshire makes it frequently necessary to have a bo of soldiers stationed at Airdrie, to preserve order among the collie there; and the want of an efficient police at Dunfermline made necessary to have a military force there for a period of nearly fo years. Indeed, it was during a short interval when this force h been withdrawn, that the formidable riot which has been me tioned took place.

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Anticipated Benefits of the Plan.

—*Increased Security to Life and Property, both from Internal Tumults and from Foreign Aggression.*

There would ever be at hand a power to suppress once any internal riot, and in case of a foreign invasion, on whatever part of the coast the inroad ight be made, to keep the enemy at bay at least ıtil large bodies of the National Force and all the gular troops in the country could be brought to the ot.

Those who have had to investigate the origin of ɔts, know how important it is to have a force at ınd to act at once; since, at the beginning, a very ıall power is generally sufficient to suppress the sorder; indeed, the very knowledge of the existence a power within easy call is, in many cases, enough prevent the disorder from arising. At present, hen factories are attacked or ricks burned, the ɒters may often reckon on completing their work ng before the military can be brought to the scene destruction.

As the regular troops retained at home would be quired only to assist in defending the country from reign invasion, they might be stationed near the ast, and in those places where a landing would be ost likely to be attempted. This would add greatly the security of the country.

2.—*Saving of Expense.*

After retaining a sufficient body of regular troops, satisfy the most apprehensive, there can be no doubt at, with an efficient National Force of 100,000 men,

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the regular army might, with perfect safety, be gr
dually reduced; especially if, after trial in th
country, the plan were extended to the colonies; i
which case the reduction might be very great.

Our army, exclusive of the Ordnance, at pres
consists of about 120,000 men, of whom from o
third to one half, I believe, are generally kept in t
country, and the other portion sent to the colonie
The cost of the army including pensions to retir
soldiers, is about 6,700,000*l.* per annum, or includi
half the cost of the Ordnance, about 7,800,00
Supposing that when the organization of the propos
National Reserved Force is complete, the army
reduced by 25,000 or 30,000 men, such a reducti
would probably suffice not only to defray the wh
cost of the new Force, but to produce a considera
saving; while, instead of 60,000 men at most, for t
immediate defence of the country, we should ha
notwithstanding the reduction, a force of 120,0
or 130,000.

It would not be necessary to provide for the pa
ment of the deferred annuities, since long before t
time when these would become due, a further redu
tion in the standing army, much more than sufficie
to meet that expense, would doubtless be made.

As an experiment, the proposed Force might fi
be organized in those counties where an auxilia
police is most wanted, or which are most exposed
foreign invasion. In this case a small reduction i
the standing army would suffice to pay the first e
pense, and yet leave a saving to the country. An
in the extended application of the plan (if it we
found to succeed on a small scale), I believe it wou
always be possible, by a concurrent reduction of t
standing army, to effect a saving of expense far grea

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han the cost of the addition to the National Force; ntil at length a clear total saving was obtained of wo or three millions a-year.

One important advantage arising from a saving of he country's money is, that, if unhappily a necessity or war should arise, it increases the power of the ountry to carry it on. This consideration alone ught to offer a strong motive in every country to eep down the standing army to the lowest amount onsistent with the public safety; instead of the ountry exhausting itself, as must be the case, to a onsiderable extent, with several countries on the Continent, by a great military expenditure when here is no need for it.

The question here arises as to the comparative alue of regular troops, and of such a body as the roposed force for the defence of a country.

It is very natural for military men to attach great mportance to those niceties of military discipline in vhich a standing army generally excels, as com ared with troops formed out of yeomanry and itizens; and to look rather slightingly on such an rregular force.

The Duke of Wellington, however, whose long nd varied experience has given him abundant opportunity of judging of almost every kind of troops, vidently places more reliance on a somewhat similar, hough, necessarily, much less efficient, force than hat proposed, than do some other advisers of less uthority; as appears by the following extract from is Grace's letter to General Burgoyne:—

"The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different Administrations to decide—which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years—is to raise,

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" embody, organize, and discipline the militia, of th
" same numbers for each of the three kingdom
" united as during the late war. This would giv
" a mass of organized force amounting to abou
" 150,000 men; which we might immediately set t
" work to discipline. This alone would enable us t
" establish the strength of our army. This, with a
" augmentation of the force of the regular army,
" which would not cost 400,000*l.*, would put the
" country on its legs in respect to personal force;
" and I would engage for its defence, old as I am."

But without stopping to inquire whether me selected on the proposed plan could not, if it wer thought important, be readily made to equal ordinar soldiers, even in the minutest detail—without examining this point, it must be remarked that again and again has the proud general of a well-disciplined army found himself wofully mistaken, and compelled to yield to men who, though less erect an stiff in their bearing, and with less pipe-clay in their breeches, were animated by a high moral feeling, a strong love of country, and a determination to defend their homes and liberties. Witness the disgraceful defeat of the Austrian and Burgundian armies in th war which gave Switzerland her freedom, and in which the power of infantry was first taught to th well-trained and iron-clad warriors of Europe by a few mountain herdsmen. Witness also the defeat o the chivalry of the first two Edwards in their attack on Scotland, ending in their utter rout at the glorious battle of Bannockburn. Witness again the disgraceful defeat of our troops in the American war; and the discomfiture of the Austrian and Prussian troops in their unjustifiable attack on France in the early period of the French revolution, and before France had exhausted

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herself and weakened the attachment of her people by her atrocious invasion of other states and her fearful conscriptions. Look also at the noble struggle of Toussaint L'Ouverture and his negro associates, and the triumph of Dessalines and his army, formed out of men who had lately been groaning in slavery, over Bonaparte's disciplined troops. And we now see how the countless hordes of Russian soldiers are kept at bay, year after year, by a few brave Circassians.

A consideration of these and other similar deeds must, I think, convince almost every one, that men with ordinary spirit and energy, who stand on their own soil, who know every yard of the country, who have the sympathy and support of the people, and who, in their homes, their property, and their liberties, have something worth fighting for, will, with a very moderate amount of training, present an irresistible front to any invading army; a front, indeed, the very idea of which would prevent any but an army of madmen from setting foot upon the coast; and shows, I think, that such a force has inherent advantages which can never be wholly possessed by troops collected even in the manner in which the English army is raised; and far less by foreign mercenaries or conscripts animated by no pure or noble motive, and in many cases, serving against their will.

The undaunted courage and firmness shown by our police, not only in facing large bodies of rioters but in going alone into the abodes of the most desperate of our population to arrest an offender, are earnest of the brave conduct which might be expected of such a National Force as I have described, in the event of a foreign invasion.

No slight advantage would be enjoyed by such a

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force, from the circumstance of their being well known to each other, and from the feeling of mutual reliance which such a knowledge would be likely to create; a feeling which is probably the chief advantage of having been actually in battle with others, or *aguerris*, as our neighbours term it.

It may indeed be objected to the plan, that it is contrary to the principle of the division of labour. But to this I would reply, in the first place, that, at the present age, and in this country, the principle of the division of labour, in the ordinary sense of the term, is scarcely applicable to the profession of arms. For as happily there is now but little fighting to be done, constant practice in fighting is so completely out of the question, that a large proportion of the army must live and die without once going into battle.

Secondly, even if the proposed plan were opposed to the valuable principle of the division of labour, the facts I have referred to show, I think, that the plan would have large preponderating advantages.

But it appears to me, that, rightly considered, there is in fact no opposition in the case, or that, if there be any, it is but to a small extent.

If the art of warfare (I speak of that required of private soldiers, the great bulk of the army) were difficult to master, like the science or practice of medicine or of the law, then indeed any other employment ought to be quite subordinate. But when an art is easily learnt (and that cannot be hard of attainment in which the chief difficulties are mastered in a few weeks), comparatively little time is requisite for giving both complete knowledge and quick execution; and that is all which is sought to be attained by division of labour.

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Can any one believe for a moment that the Romans would have been better soldiers had they employed in continued drill the time which they gave to making the excellent roads, some of which have remained to this day, a monument of their industry and skill? Or, that Napoleon's army lost in energy and power by constructing the noble road across the Alps?

I remember some years ago, when riding on the stage-coach from London to Birmingham, having a conversation with a soldier who got up at Weedon. According to this man's account, which has been confirmed by subsequent information, many of the soldiers in barracks pass much of their time in idleness, being often hard pressed to get through the day. He said that they were not allowed to do any kinds of work which could interfere with the labour of the people in the neighbourhood, and that one of their chief occupations was "larking."

Can there be a doubt that men in such circumstances would, without regard to other considerations, be better *soldiers* by having their minds and muscles properly employed?—by their being engaged during the greater part of their time in useful and active labour? Yet this is what is proposed in the plan under consideration.

In a late able article in the "Times" newspaper, the recent spirit of mutiny among our troops in India, and the necessity for the severe punishments arising from it, are attributed, with much appearance of truth, to the utter weariness of existence caused by the dulness and vacuity of barrack life in India.

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3.—*Gain to public morality and increased security for public liberty.*

The gain to public morality, by a decrease of drunkenness and prostitution, with their train of misery and crime, which would result from a large diminution of the number of ordinary soldiers, would be great; while the security for our liberties would be increased by the power of the army being, in a great measure, transferred to men of superior education and morality, linked to society by the thousand ties produced by a family, the possession of property, and the exercise of an industrious calling.

At the same time it is but just to remember, and the fact redounds to the honour of the English army (and offers an example to the world with but too few parallels), that nearly 200 years have elapsed since any military attempt was made to obtain the mastery of the state or overawe the Government.

Summary.

Independently of all considerations of external defence, the Reserved Force here proposed may justly be regarded as highly important, if not absolutely necessary, for internal security; and it may be pronounced strictly economical.

It can scarcely be necessary, at the present time, to dwell upon the extreme expensiveness of insecurity. So baneful is its effect upon the commerce and manufactures of any country or any district where insecurity prevails, that large indeed must be the price which can be deemed excessive for its removal. Without multiplying examples, one glance at Ire-

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land will serve to show the fearful extent, in an economical point of view, as well as in others more important, to which the evils of insecurity may be carried. How cheaply would that unhappy country purchase security to life and property, could it obtain them at ten times the outlay here contemplated!

But if this Force be thus constituted for internal purposes, it obviously becomes available, at small additional cost, for external defence; and the facts which I have advanced show, I hope, that acting in conjunction with a comparatively small number of regular troops, it would present such a front of resistance as would render all fear of invasion groundless.

Nevertheless, its organization and maintenance are perfectly consistent with any additional plans which the exigencies of any particular time might be thought to require.

It may also be reasonably expected, that the enrolment of so numerous a body of men for the support and enforcement of the law (for such, of course, would be their main duty), would not only excite in them that attachment to the law which naturally arises among those employed to defend it, but that as every member of the Force, by residing with his family and still pursuing his ordinary avocations, would be in continual contact with many other persons, it would tend greatly to diffuse such loyalty far and wide.

And all these desirable ends would be attained without exciting any of the alarm or odium at home, or jealousy abroad, necessarily attaching to a large standing army in time of peace.

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Postscript.—Except the estimate of the annual cost of the Force, and some other matters of detail, the foregoing was written and in print before the subject of National Defences came under discussion in Parliament; but I was prevented by indisposition and other circumstances from completing it in time for an earlier publication.

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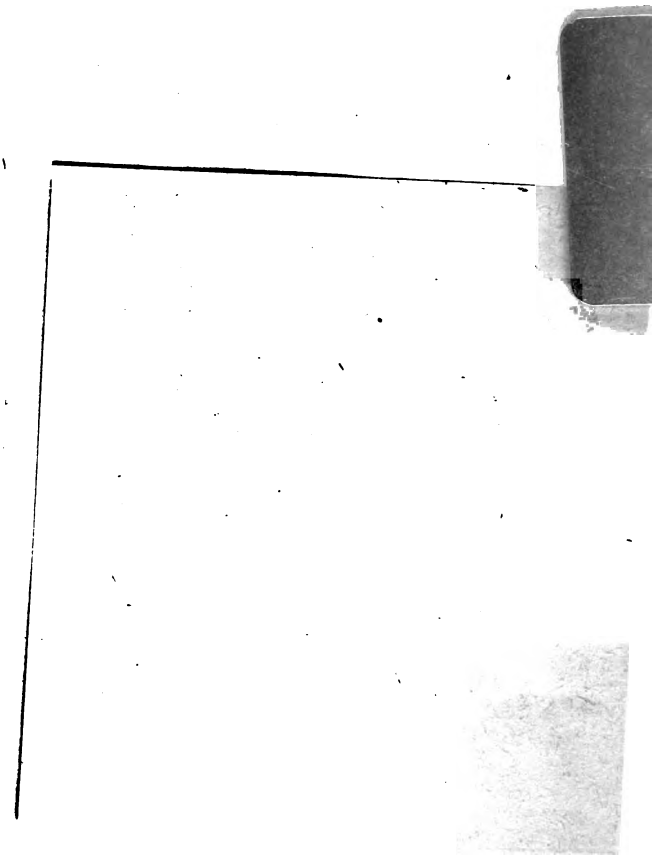

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